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ABSTRACT

Non-formal adult educational programs in Scandinavian and North American popular movements have often been used to advance popular, democractic movements in both areas. Folk schools are often viewed as a panacea for social and educational problems, but as the findings here demonstrate, it is not just education but the mobilization of people around structural binds and realistic dreams that change societies. Folk colleges are formed when discontented people seek to solve problems through the creation of movement organizations that offer hope of success. These programs have a greater chance of succeeding if there exists some meaningful degree of tolerance by the established authority. During the history of the movement folk colleges, three major pedagogical orientations have occurred: (1) the poetic-historical; (2) the rational-pragmatic; and (3) the ideological-confrontational. The most effective movement education programs have been found in mass reformist movements seeking to extend democratic participation and secure folk political dominance, or in elite movements seeking to defend traditional rights. The paper concludes with figures on the formation and relationships of movements and non-formal educational programs and a list of references. (PPB)

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NON-FORMAL EDUCATION CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCANDINAVIAN AND NORTH AMERICAN POPULAR MOVEMENTS

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"The spirit of dialectical fearlessness is
not so easily acquired—,"

S. Kierkegaard, Concluding Unscientific Postscript

This paper contrasts nonformal adult educational programs in Scandinavian and North American popular movements, notes Scandinavian influence on North American education, and summarizes some lessons learned in using NFE, or structured non-degree adult education to advance popular, democratic movements in both areas.

But first let me take Gunnar Myrdal's advice and plainly state my bias at the outset. For the past several decades a good deal of my research has focused on voluntary folk education contributions to the creation of social democracy in Scandinavia — and especially in Sweden. In 1900 some of my ancestors left the rocky hills of western Värmland to seek a better life and a more promising future for their children in America. Others stayed behind and helped in the difficult yet ultimately successful struggle to build a more equitable and humane Sweden. I identify with that effort and hope to see it continue elsewhere. As an academic, I try to understand how people in related struggles have variously used nonformal education, i.e., to answer the overarching question, "under what condition can NFE help to facilitate changes in values, behavior and socio-economic relations?"

The case studies reviewed in this presentation indicate how a variety of Scandinavian and North American social and ethnic movements have sought to use residential nonformal education for young adults in behavioral and social-change efforts. While my focus is mostly on folk high schools because of their influence in Sweden and the United States, we should also recognize that popular movements used study circles, libraries, correspondence courses, drama and other types of NFE to prepare ordinary people for

increased political participation and social change. We should note too the neglect--until recently--of this movement education and, accordingly, the sparsity of analysis as to its significance. In this review of findings, we will make another step in addressing this lacuna and join in the efforts of Lars Furuland, Bo Andersson and others at Swedish universities.

The need to generalize on the experiences of movement-controlled educational programs may be viewed in light of both theory and practice. In regard to the former, we have yet to see the need for a truly comprehensive model, or theory of education and social change recognized, let alone specifically addressed. While the elaboration of a rationale and specification of some major components of such a theory are far beyond our means here, we might well observe that our questions and findings should be of value to at least one cell, i.e., autonomous grassroots non-formal education programs, in any such framework. For if we are to explain the contributions of education to social change systematically and comprehensively, we must be able to account for such phenomena in all parts of any country's educational complex. Where researchers have to date largely focused on educational contributions in formal schools and in 'top-down' non-formal education programs, I have chosen here to examine the grass roots or from the 'bottom up' type of education and how it has been created and used with greater or lesser effectiveness by collective change efforts in Scandinavian and North American settings (Paulston & LeRoy, 1982).

Accordingly, we can show were our findings might be most useful to the elaboration of theory, to the accumulation of logically interdependent generalized concepts and propositions with empirical referents. Working both inductively and deductively, students of educational change and policy

studies will, no doubt, pay increasing attention to this need in the years to come. And in such an undertaking, theoretically grounded empirical and historical work, as reviewed here, will be of the greatest utility.

Our findings should also be useful to inform educational decision-making and practice. The Scandinavian folk high schools are periodically rediscovered and heralded as a panacea for social and educational problems. In this genre, the folk high schools or--in American usage--the folk colleges, are often viewed as promising educational solutions to a variety of social problems without recognizing how the problems should also be seen as, for example, consequences of structured inequality or without understanding the conditions that made early folk-college efforts seeking quite different goals more or less successful. But as the findings here demonstrate, it is not just education but the mobilization of people around structural binds and realistic dreams that change societies and, as the Swedish case clearly demonstrates, nonformal adult education can do a great deal to facilitate this process (Andersson, 1978).

These findings will, accordingly, pose something of a dilemma for politicians and educational planners. To be truly effective for significant social change, non-formal education would seem to require a dynamic social-movement context and movement control. It seems to flourish best when autonomous and when it seeks concrete reformist goals that do not radically transcend the tolerance parameters in any given society, goals such as the right to vote, to bargain collectively, to survive as an ethnic group, to live one's religion and social values.

Most likely, it will not be the planners but the future social-movement educators, the likes of, for example, John Lewis, Myles Horton, George

Wiley, Saul Alinski, César Chávez, Martin Luther King, Betty Freidan and their like, who in the United States will be best able to draw lessons to inform practice from this experience. Although they will quite likely remain few in number, like all effective movement educators, they will benefit from 'useful' theory, from explanations, as attempted here, of why and how new learning can lead to new awareness, new goals and altered behavior within the context of group mobilization, solidarity and organized struggle.

ORIGINS OF MOVEMENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Against this background, I would like to propose some tentative conclusions drawn from historical case studies, to the three questions that shape this paper: i.e., (1) under what conditions do collective change efforts create their own NFE educational programs? (2) what NFE pedagogical processes have been most effective? and (3) what are the key variables associated with more or less successful attempts to wed folk colleges to social and ethnic movement change efforts?

Then, we will briefly examine how some of the findings have implications for future social and educational policy in Scandinavia and North America, and for more comprehensive and compelling explanations, or theory, of why and how education can contribute to social and ethnic movements seeking more equitable social, cultural, and economic relations.

The 'under what conditions' question has been largely avoided in previous research on folk-high school origins (Davis, 1971). Earlier case studies have been descriptive and have not sought to support generalization based upon evidence. With the present comparative study, we have for the

first time a collection of case studies chosen to facilitate generalization, albeit tentative and preliminary, concerning folk-college origins, processes and contributions.

In any reconceptualization of educational-change phenomena, as with the notion of 'non-formal education' or 'social movement education', it is necessary first to specify the scope of the phenomena (i.e., folk colleges in change efforts), develop some rough categories of the phenomena, and then begin to account for variation between categories by noting differences in key characteristics.

In this process of creating typologies or classificatory schemata, data are categorized and presented so as to show how a particular choice of key variables, or dimensions, will produce a matrix of parameters, categories and relations (See Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988). If we apply this process to the 'fighting' folk colleges as examined in our case data, they can be sorted out as in Figure 1 below. Because most movements are concerned with a number of structural binds, and because their goals usually change over time, this sort of categorization is, at best, only suggestive. It should help nevertheless to facilitate description and explanation of key factors associated with the creation of movement folk colleges. We should also take note that different groups involved in the same social-movement education effort often articulate quite different and sometimes contradictory binds, or perceptions of discrepancy between "the way it is" and "the way it should be". Grundtvig and his professional followers, for example, spoke of ethno-cultural, nationalistic and religious binds. Rural Danes, however, used the FHS founded by the Grundtvigians for their own quite different purposes, i.e., to increase their limited economic and political participation in

Figure I. A CLASSIFICATION OF SCANDINAVIAN AND NORTH AMERICAN MOVEMENT FOLK COLLEGES

Structural bind articulated	Stated manifest movement objectives: Separatist	Reformist	Transformative
Economic-political		Highlander folk school, and most Swedish and Danish movement FHS schools MAJ (+)	Work peoples' college Brookwood, and Commonwealth Min (-)
Ethno-cultural	Swede-Finn folk colleges MEL (+) Lapp folk high school MIND (-)	Most Norwegian movement FHS schools MAJ (+)	
Religious	Danish folk high schools in America MIN (-)		

Key: MAJ = Majority movement context
MIN = Minority movement context
MEL = Minority, elite movement context
MIND = Minority, indigenous movement context
+ = Relatively successful
- = Relatively unsuccessful

Source: Paulston, 1982

national life (See Davis, 1971). In a similar way, many working-class youth attending United States labor colleges in the 1920s and 1930s acknowledged the bind articulated by labor-college educators and intellectuals, i.e., the exploitation of workers and the goal of a worker's society, while seeking increased economic participation and careers within the existing society. Here we have been limited in the identification of structural binds to those presented in movement publications. Future research is needed on how movement leaders, adherents and students as well articulate the bind that they perceive and how dialogue over differences might influence educational processes and outcomes.

Given these limitations, Figure I does allow us, nevertheless, to pattern types of folk colleges as movement organizations addressing latent social or ethnic movement functions. These largely non-formal educational programs are created when discontented people seek to solve problems through mobilization and the creation of movement organizations, such as schools, and the specification of an alternative problem formulation that offers hope of success.

We should note that while movement size is not a key consideration in the creation of movement educational programs, the way binds are identified and the articulation of realistic goals seems to be crucial. It makes little sense to attempt NFE movement education in a struggle where the odds are overwhelming or where occasional progress towards goals cannot be won. Where the opposition is seemingly all-powerful, as for example, in the American Anti-War Movement, there was little structured movement education after the early instructional "sit-ins". Rather, some anti-war movement activist turned to violent opposition, while the majority of sympathizers

became increasingly alienated from a society they despaired of changing.

Another necessary if not sufficient condition for the founding of movement NFE programs is some meaningful degree tolerance of established authority. Clearly, movement education cannot exist without the existence of a movement and its supportive organizations. Social movements are tolerated only when their potential threat to the status quo is in some degree acceptable to those in control of the polity, the military, the courts and the police. As may be noted, the Scandinavian and North American cases examined here all occurred in liberal-conservative quasi-democratic settings with some tradition of a 'loyal opposition'. In each case, the movements' size and degree of 'deviance' from the national value consensus, or national ideology, considerably influenced the ease with which movement-education programs were created, supported and used to help secure social changes. As a very small and weak ethnic minority, the Swedish Lapps, or same, for example, still struggle for the resources and state approval needed to develop their own Same Movement folk high school (Paulston, 1976). In contrast, the Swede-Finns in Finland, another minority group, with control of land and wealth, developed their movement folk high schools after World War I as the need arose in a successful struggle for political power, constitutional recognition, and ethnic survival.

In a third separatist-oriented case, the Danes, in a missionary effort, provided leadership and resources for Danish cultural survival in the United States, and U.S. groups placed no restriction on the movement's folk-college building efforts. The impetus here came largely from abroad, and the bind it addressed, i.e., the need to remain Danish in religion and culture also came largely from abroad, i.e., from Grundtvigs' son et al and was not

shared by many young Danes in the New World. These folk high schools eventually closed or became U.S. liberal arts colleges.

In marked contrast, Scandinavian, folk, or popular, movements by and large represented the interests of most farmers and workers. This largely disenfranchised majority (before World War I) sought to build democratic egalitarian societies where none would starve or be forced to emigrate for lack of opportunity or human dignity. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this majority created within the folk sector their own folk institutions more or less organized on democratic and egalitarian principles (See B. Andersson, 1977, and NASFE, 1988). In contrast to the elitist state church, for example, the folk free-church movement created autonomous fundamentalist churches. Folk-language movements developed, extended and legitimized popular alternatives to élite culture and language. The producer-co-operative movement provided a successful democratic folk alternative to the traditional middle-class middleman and the commercial élite. The temperance movement, often in collaboration with the Free Church Movement, sought to combat the pervasive problem of alcoholism among farmers and workers, a problem that tended to undermine the entire folk movement and the working class in general (Andersson, 1978). In sum, all of the various streams that made up Scandinavian folk movements developed their own egalitarian 'high schools', study circles, and folk-education programs for young and old. Thus, the popular movements were able to prepare their leadership in their own schools imbued with their own goals and egalitarian ideology (JÖnson, 1922). The contrast with Britain, for example, where bright working-class boys often attended elite public schools and Oxbridge with scholarships and returned as leaders for the labor movement is com-

plete.

In Scandinavia, all movement folk high schools have received some state support, and this income has undoubtedly enhanced their survival. Regular grants have also tended to mute the formulation and articulation of a more radical ideology of discontent and of partisan struggle. Even the socialist-oriented labor folk colleges, as at Brunnsvik, et al, founded in the early 1900s, after some initial conservative opposition in parliament, managed to secure continuing government grants (Andersson, 1980). The conservatives' rationale for supporting socialist folk colleges sought to limit the political nature of these schools, and to provide a place where working-class youth could receive some post-primary schooling without their making demands for the reform of and access to highly selective élite-oriented secondary and higher education. Conservative and Liberal politicians were successful on both counts, and Scandinavian folk colleges were only rarely political or disruptive. With folk political dominance after 1932, the task of changing Swedish institutions from selective to egalitarian orientation began and has continued, most recently with university reforms (Abrahamsson, 1988).

ASSESSING PEDAGOGICAL PROCESSES

In addressing the question, 'What NFE pedagogical processes have been most effective?' we should take note of the difficulty in answering this query in any but the most general manner. The connection between instruction and subsequent behavior is much studied, but little understood. On the basis of the case-study material, I cannot hope to do more then suggest some of the major types and some of the characteristics of effective pedagogy,

where 'effectiveness' is viewed as securing and supporting active individual commitment to, and participation in movement-goal attainment efforts.

When one compares pedagogical orientation and processes in the typical Scandinavian folk-movement schools and in the American labor-movement folk colleges several modal types emerge, i.e., (a) the Poetic-Historical, (b) the Rational-Pragmatic, and (c) the Ideological-Confrontational. All have been present to some extent at various times in all folk-college educational activities. The three orientations noted, however, have predominated at one time or another during the history of movement folk colleges and can easily be identified in may of the case studies. While this figure is only suggestive, it does help to see major pedagogical orientations, and in a gross way to allow correlation of these orientations with the overall degree of movement-education effectiveness suggested in Figure I. Clearly, the poetic-historic orientation has predominated whereever the Grundtvigian influence was strong, as in the Danish and Norwegian folk high schools serving largely rural movements. While a number of Danish disciples of Grundtvig sought to develop folk high schools with this orientation in the United States, the Danish-American students as noted sought a Type B educational experience. When the Grundtvigian folk colleges could not meet these expectations, the new public high schools of rural America could and did.

Even in Denmark, Type B orientations predominated in the Co-operative and Labor Movement folk high schools. This has also long been the case in Sweden where the rational-pragmatic orientation has shaped nearly all FHS education. Disdaining both Grundtvigian spirituality and overt ideological conflict, the Swedish folk-movement educational programs have been highly

successful in preparing movement leaders and an "acceptable working class high culture" for the peaceful shift after 1932 form élitism to egalitarianism in Swedish national life (See Furuland, 1971). While this shift is still underway, the movement folk-education programs now play far less important roles than they did up to and immediately after World War II. Today through rational discourse, compromise and interest-group bargaining, the political power of folk movements works through national institutions and not, as earlier, solely through folk institutions. As the folk movements have largely realized their dreams for societies directed to human welfare, or welfare states, folk-movement folk high schools have become part of the new more egalitarian status quo (S.T.U.C., 1985). And as this occurs, their pedagogical activities become ever more rational-pragmatic in orientation. Today, as a branch of formal educational systems, most Scandinavian folk high schools are unique only for their residential settings and lack of emphasis on formal examinations and grades (Andersson, 1980, and Eiger, 1988)

In contrast to present-day Swedish society where folk-movement goals are now dominant, we might take note of an earlier example of Type C pedagogy in a poem from Studiekamraten a major Swedish folk high school journal in 1919. This was a time of intense social-class confrontation between the labor movement and a conservative government over growing popular demands for economic justice and increased political participation. Writing in the meter of Viking verse, the poet seeks to encourage youthful dedication to a struggle for social justice, to solidarity with the oppressed, a theme always present to some degree in social-movement education.

Glad in heart
over the sea
the viking young
went to fight
through the world
harsh and wide
sought to reach
the happy land
the blue dream

Black skies
the storm's squalls
waken and threaten with
danger's plight
to put out
firesoul's flame

But the young
looked for danger
glad to cast
spear against the crowd
glad to fight
glad to help
those who suffer

Then the cold
black Time's
waves beat. . .
brave fighter
lay there fettered
beaten bloody

Yes, beaten
but not crushed
soon in the day
free, freed
risen from the dust
stormhappy fighter
heads for the light

To young
who would grow
learn life's heavy
hard lesson

Love, suffer
hate, fight
never dampen
Truth's fire
Fight through
hard fates
to reach
the happy land
the blue dream

In Sweden today, this type of poem would be an embarrassment to teachers and students in the labor movement's folk high schools. It would have meaning only among <u>same</u> students, for example, who still struggle against overwhelming odds to build their movement, their own schools, and to secure their rights to land and water, and their fading dream of ethnic survival.

In numerous American labor colleges during the same period, a small, radical minority within the United States labor movement used Type C education to help in the struggle for industrial unions collective bargaining rights, and a socialist society. Here educational contributions had

some limited impact in local organizing efforts and strikes (Paulston and Ward, 1988). The sharp and repressive reaction from established authority, the Klan, the American Legion and even from the conservative union leadership, however, meant that these few gains served essentially to provoke a highly successful reactionary backlash during the 1930's. By World War II, Commonwealth, Brookwood and the vast majority of U.S. labor colleges had closed or been closed. Only Highlander Folk High School in Tennessee continued to provide democratic, social change-oriented Type B educational programs within the American labor movement. Even these limited educational efforts ended as the cold war intensified in the 1950's and the AFL-CIO industrial unions, now as part of the national establishment, directed much of their vast NFE educational efforts and resources instead to new anti-Communist education programs for Third World workers at Front Royal, Virginia (Paulston and Altenbaugh, 1980).

Highlander, perhaps the most successful United States adaptation of the Scandinavian folk high school, reoriented its residential NFE efforts in the 1950's from labor education to support the emerging civil rights movement in the southern U.S. There were several other American attempts to apply the Scandinavian folk school approach to the South, particularly southern Appalachia, but with limited success. As David Whisnant points out, educational experiments as diverse as the John C. Campbell Folk School and Black Mountain College, both in North Carolina; Commonwealth College, in the Ozarks; and the Macedonia Cooperative Community, in northern Georgia, were all "idealistic and admirably motivated; all were directed by energetic and imaginative people; all were in some ways at odds with mainstream values, assumptions, and processes." All of them failed to bring about "substantial

and durable change," however, because they tried to impose "an essential alien 'folk' ideology and social program which ultimately could not be successfully integrated with local ideas, customs, mores, and institutions," (Whisnant, 1983). In contrast, Highlander survived and achieved some meaningful change because it remained both sensitive to southern culture and committed to transforming it. Although the school operated throughout Appalachia and the South, its programs remained rooted in the local community. Highlander shaped its curriculum to fit the needs of its students, and the structural binds they opposed. It focused not on the symptoms but on the causes of the problems facing black and white southerners, and it both anticipated and responded to larger movements for social change (Glen, 1988).

FOLK COLLEGE CONTRIBUTIONS: KEY FACTORS

What can we conclude on the basis of the cases discussed here as to the conditions that seem to be correlated with the relative success or failure of folk high schools in Scandinavian and United States social and ethnic movements? How, one might inquire, can such generalizations be useful in assessing possibilities for movement-education contributions to movements only now forming, or to others yet unknown?

Simply put, the most effective movement-education programs have been found in either mass reformist movements successfully seeking to extend democratic participation and secure folk political dominance--as in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; or in élite movements seeking to defend traditional rights--as with the Swede-Finns. When minority movements representing groups of relatively small size and little power seek to alter the status

quo in ways detrimental to the perceived interests of the majority, their educational programs can rarely implant new values and behaviors that can be rewarded over time either in or out of the movement context. U.S. Civil Rights movement education programs succeeded as did the movement with the support of most white Americans, if not white southerners. In contrast, new skills, critical awareness and feelings of solidarity with the large majoritarian Scandinavian folk movements could be used to effect within the supportive folk institutions and the folk sector of society, i.e., in the folk schools, in co-operatives, and in other folk-dominated organizations and institutions.

Drawing on Schermerhorn's paradigm of social groups, we can illustrate in Figure II how the key characteristics of size and power can be used to classify social and ethnic movements and thus suggest movement potential for mounting sustained educational programs with some promise of helping to accomplish movement objectives (Schermerhorn, 1970).

When members of the large Scandinavian folk movements gradually received the vote and secured political power after World War I, the movements they supported shifted from Type C Subordinate Mass movements to Type A, dominant majority movements. This would seem to be the most potentially fruitful setting for movement folk high school programs (Eiger, 1988). Conversely, subordinate minority movements have used folk college and related education programs to greatest effect in providing 'safe places' in hostile environments where conflicting definitions of the problem and ideologies of struggle can be elaborated and applied in enclave settings, and alliances formed with sympathetic groups.

In most developing countries, central authority will rarely tolerate

Figure II. A PARADIGM OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

	Size	Power		
	Dominant movements			
Type A	+	+	=	Majority movement (i.e., Scand. folk movements with the franchise)
Type B	-	+	=	Elite movement (i.e, Swede-Finns)
	Subordinate movements			
Type C	+	-	=	Mass movement (i.e., Scand. folk movements before the franchise)
Type D	-	-	=	Minority movements (i.e., ethnic movements, United States labor college movement, et al.)

Source: Schermerhorn, 1970

even reformist social and ethnic movements. Even when it does, these efforts to mobilize poor people most often lack leadership, trust and traditions of co-operation, conditions that make reformist collective change efforts from below difficult at best (Annis & Hakim, 1988).

Kulich suggests that the Scandinavian feat of using folk colleges and folk institutions to advance democratic movements to national power will not be duplicated elsewhere, and the evidence would seem to support this view. Where Davis has recently argued for the creation of United States minority folk colleges to defend ethnic-group interests in efforts to secure a more humanistic and pluralistic society (Davis, 1979), Kulich contends that the folk high schools' value today is primarily as a model, or prototype, of liberal residential adult education for Western industrial nations (Kulich, 1964).

But does the folk-college experience as reviewed here offer more than just another model for continuing adult education? I believe it does. In one regard, it specifies the conditions under which movement folk colleges have been founded and used with varying effectiveness by groups seeking to take greater control of their lives and solve their problems. With the constraints on United States educational-reform efforts in formal schools during the past several decades, great disillusionment has set in concerning the extent to which education can lead, or even contribute, to top-down attempts to change inequitable social structures. Functionalist critics on the right and left both reject the possibility of meaningful educational reform, let alone the possibility of educational reforms supporting and feeding into larger social-change efforts (See G. Psacharopoulos, 1986; & D. Plank, 1987).

We have attempted to demonstrate that if one only looks to the formal schools, the critics are by and large correct. The evidence is compelling that formal schools will always work to reproduce and legitimize whatever social groups are is in control. But we need not necessarily stop there. For the evidence also demonstrates that when non-formal educational programs are created and controlled by large groups seeking incremental social change, this type of autonomous change-oriented adult education can help to facilitate, under certain albeit limiting conditions, a wide variety of individual and structural change (Paulston, 1977; & Ward & Paulston, in press).

Clearly, the 'fighting' folk-college non-formal education variant is highly circumscribed in where it can operate; it is also limited by the ability of movement leaders and followers to set realistic goals, to secure resources, and to mount efforts to reduce the bind without provoking repression. But it is also clear that formal schools, because they cannot deviate far from the national ideology or value 'consensus', offer only little hope as points of entry for those who would make fundamental shifts towards more pluralistic and humane societies.

While the 'fighting' folk schools may offer part of an underdog strategy of sorts for a non-formal educational approach to incremental social change, they are perhaps equally valuable as an alternative type of educational setting, as an example of what Victor Turner calls 'anti-structure', i.e., a positive, generative center that stands in contrast to social 'structure'. Here structure is viewed as a more or less distinctive arrangement of mutually dependent institutions and the institutional organization of social positions and/or actors—as in ministries of educa-

tion and formal schools. Anti-structure does not imply a radical negativity, but, rather, the properties of 'liminality' and 'communitas'.

'Liminality' occurs "in the middle phase of the rites of passage that mark changes in an individual's or a group's social status and/or cultural and psychological state". 'Communitas' is the non-structured relationship shared by members of the group undergoing transition. Turner notes that the 'mystical rhetoric' associated with anti-structure is, as with Grundtvig's work, and folk-college poems, songs, and manifestos, very often characteristic of movements of egalitarian, popular protest during liminal periods of history when social, economic, and intellectual structures showing great consistency and stability over long periods of time begin to break up and become objects of questioning both in structural and anti-structural terms (Turner, 1974).

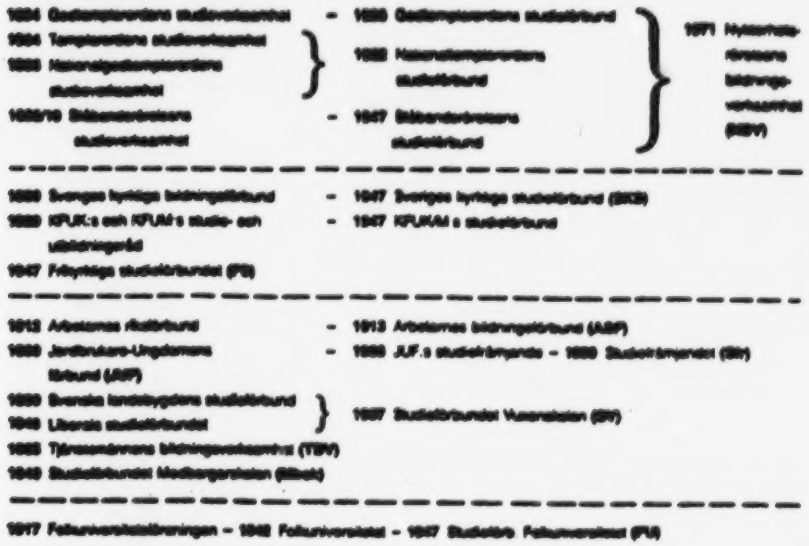
Movement folk high schools in the past and present when in opposition to existing structures, and in their struggles for democratic social renewal, can be viewed as examples of Turner's term. Where they have become successful and institutionalized--as in Sweden and much of Scandinavia today--they become part of the structural obstacle that new groups seeking to realize other goals must oppose with new educational strategies as anti-structure consistent with their perceptions of structural binds and social justice (See Elgqvist-Saltzman in Abrahamsson, 1988). If a society will tolerate the continual dialectic of reformist social movements and social-movement education in opposition to existing structures and education, you will have the opportunities for realization of man as both a structural and an anti-structural entity, who conserves through structure and grows through anti-structure.

In Figures III through VI we can note something of the extent to which Swedish popular movements earlier organized as anti-structure to an elitist and hierarchial society. The farmers' and labor movements, the free church and temperance movements built enduring organizations to successfully seek their goal of folkhemmet, the "peoples' home" were fair shares and not rigorous selection would be the standard for national policy. Today Swedish popular movements and their NFE programs serve a new more egalitarian structure of national and local government and industry (Abrahamsson, 1988). We should note however that Swedish popular education, as with the entire educational system, is now seeing a power shift from the political sector to the market economy. At the same time the notion of useful knowledge is tending more and more to be associated with the ingredients of efficient, competitive production (TCO, 1987).

In the United States, we have taken a different road. Here popular movements have been more short-lived, isolated and issue-oriented--i.e., seeking the right to organize unions, the granting of full civil rights, et al. While advisarial NFE has frequently been a valuable part of these struggles, it would seem that the central task today in both Sweden and the U.S. is to defend democratic gains in structure through increased participation and productivity, while tolerating, if not actively supporting, minority movement struggles for more equitable relations and structures, for peace, for environmental defense, and the like. For this task we will require the full range of formal and nonformal educational resources, as well as-let us hope-increased professional collaboration between Sweden and the U.S., two exemplary, if very different popular democracies.

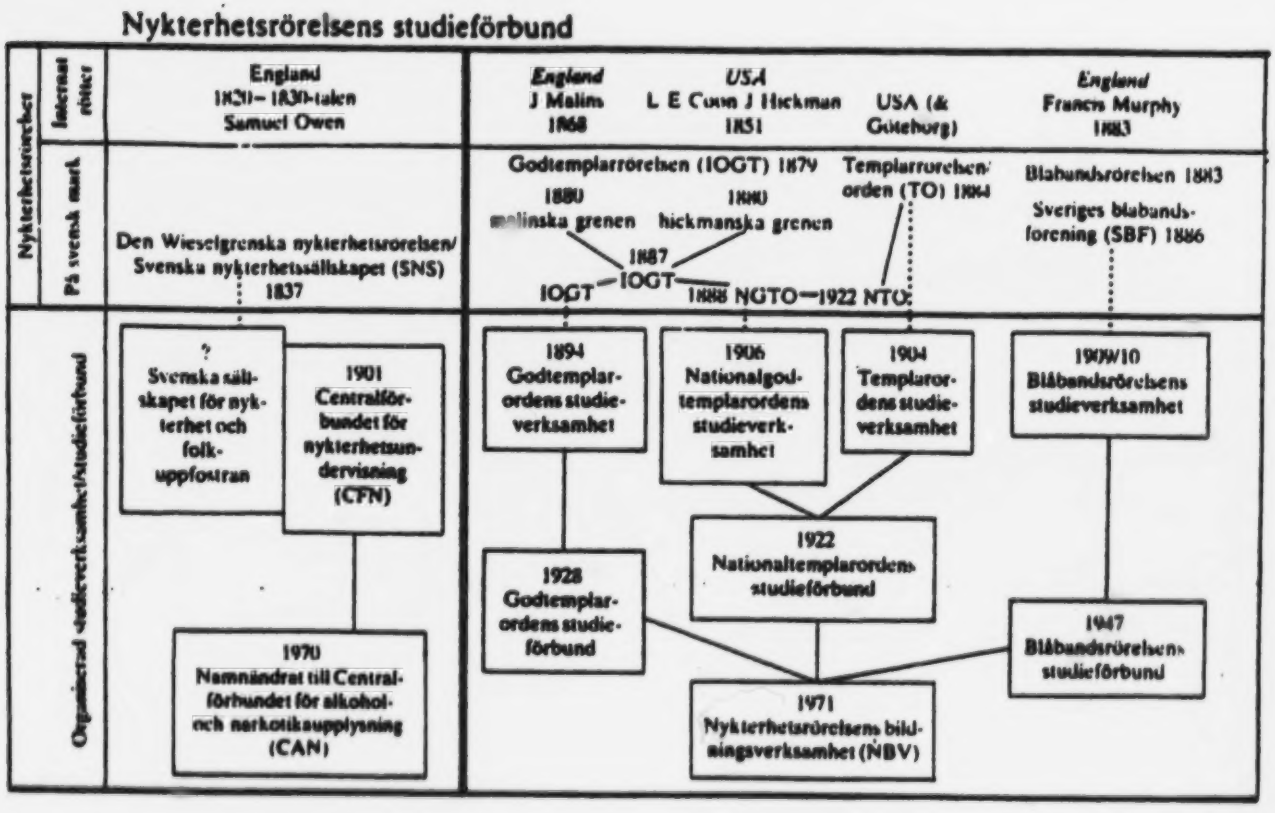
Figure III.

The formation of adult education associations ("studieförbund")



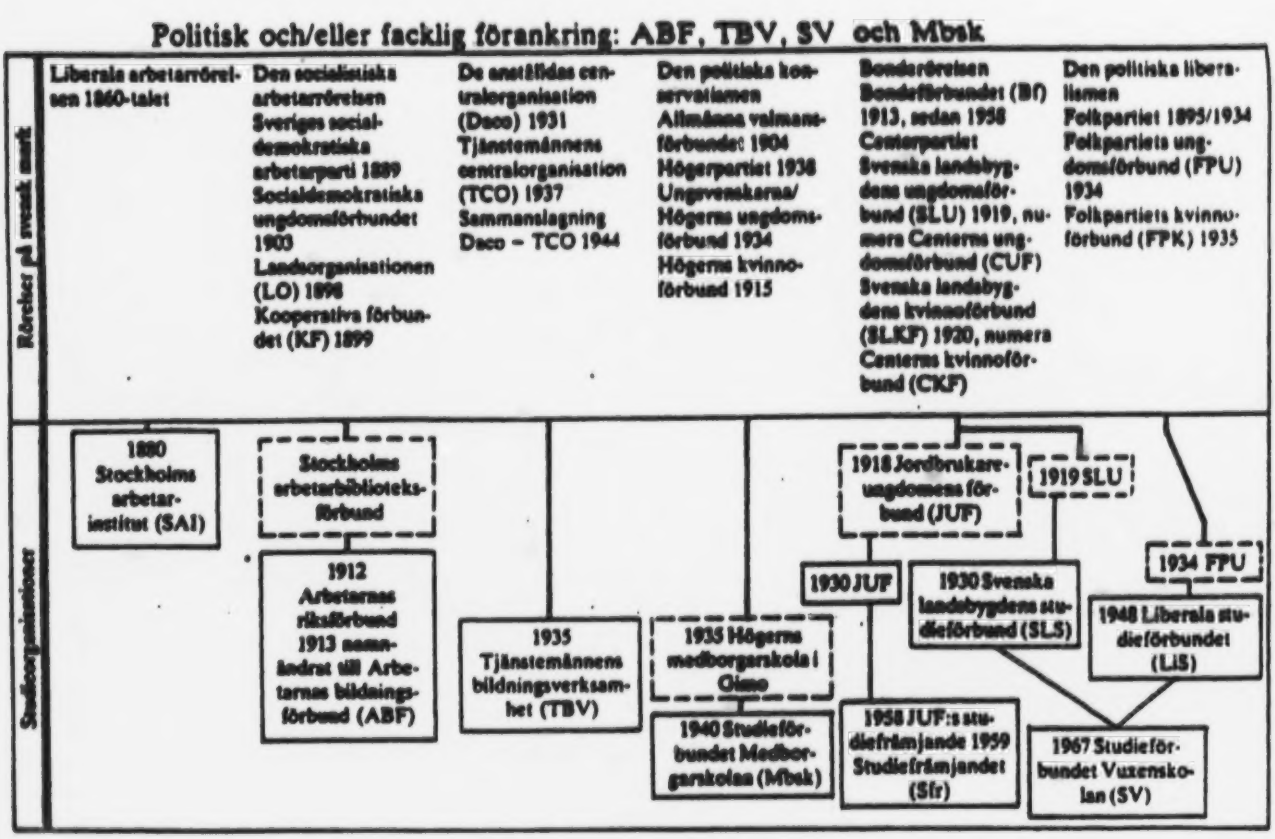
Source: Andersson, 1980

Figure IV. INTERNATIONAL TEMPERANCE MOVEMENTS AND THEIR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS



Source: Andersson, 1980

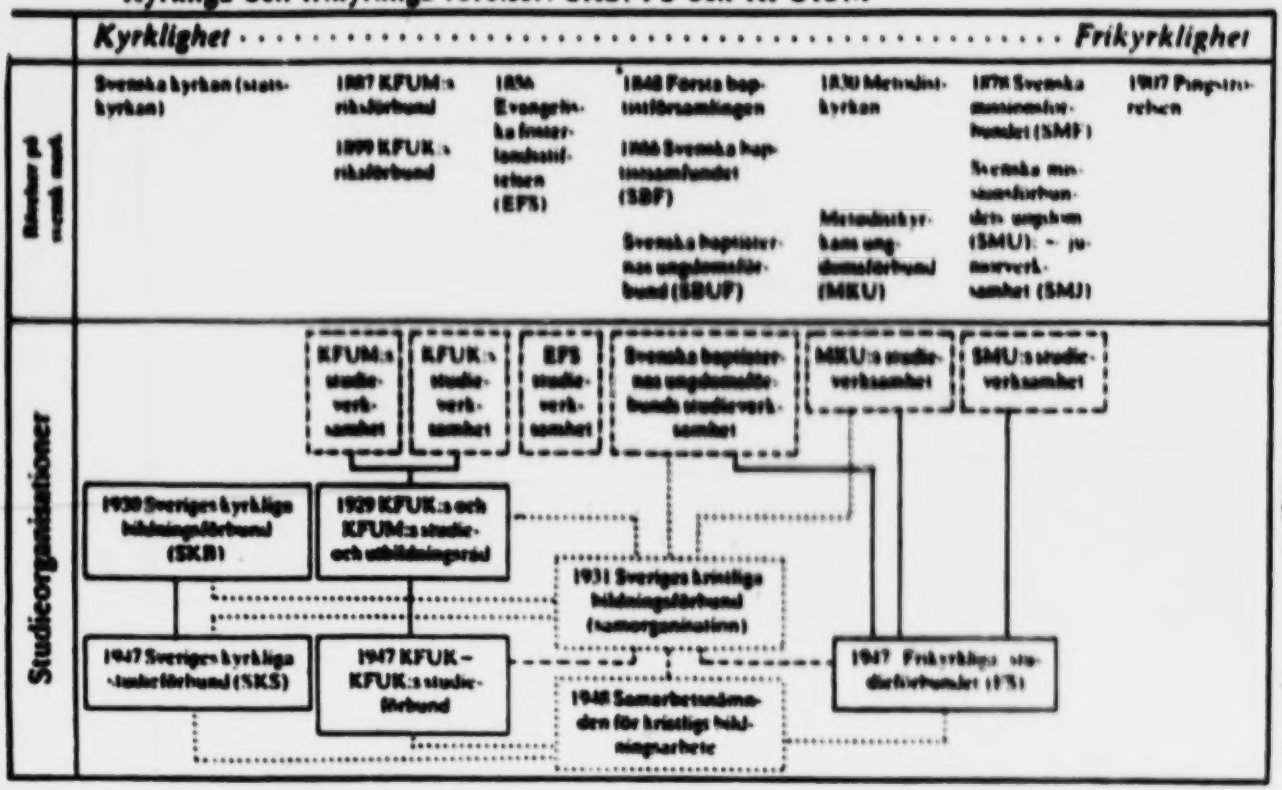
Figure V. SWEDISH POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CLASS-LINKED MOVEMENTS AND THEIR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS


Politisk och/eller facklig förankring: ABF, TBV, SV och Mbsk
Rörelser på svensk mark
Studieorganisationer
Liberala arbetarrörelsen 1860-talet
Den socialistiska arbetarrörelsen
Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetarparti 1889
Socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbundet 1903
Landsorganisationen (LO) 1898
Kooperativa förbundet (KF) 1899
De anställdas centralorganisation (Daco) 1931
Tjänstemännens centralorganisation (TCO) 1937
Sammanslagning Daco – TCO 1944
Den politiska konservatismen
Allmänna valmansförbundet 1904
Högerpartiet 1938
Ungsvenskarna/ Högerns ungdomsförbund 1934
Högerns kvinnoförbund 1915
Bonderörelsen
Bondeförbundet (Bf) 1913, sedan 1958 Centerpartiet
Svenska landsbygdens ungdomsförbund (SLU) 1919, numera Centerns ungdomsförbund (CUF)
Svenska landsbygdens kvinnoförbund (SLKF) 1920, numera Centerns kvinnoförbund (CKF)
Den politiska liberalismen
Folkpartiet 1895/1934
Folkpartiets ungdomsförbund (FPU) 1934
Folkpartiets kvinnoförbund (FPK) 1935
1880 Stockholms arbetarinstitut (SAI)
Stockholms arbetarbiblioteksförbund
1912 Arbetarnas riksförbund 1913 namnändrat till Arbetarnas bildningsförbund (ABF)
1935 Tjänstemännens bildningsverksamhet (TBV)
1935 Högerns medborgarskola i Oslo
1940 Studieförbundet Medborgarskolan (Mbsk)
1918 Jordbrukarungdomens förbund (JUF)
1919 SLU
1930 JUF
1930 Svenska landsbygdens studieförbund (SLS)
1934 FPU
1948 Liberala studieförbundet (LiS)
1958 JUF:s studiefrämjande 1959 Studiefrämjandet (Sfr)
1967 Studieförbundet Vuxenskolan (SV)

Source: Andersson, 1980

Figure VI. SWEDISH STATE AND FREE CHURCH MOVEMENTS AND THEIR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Kyrkliga och frikyrkliga rörelser: SKS, FS och KFUK/M



Source: Andersson, 1980

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